

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMCONSUL MUNICH
AMEMBASSY SOFIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BUCHAREST 2559

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TAGS: RO, HU, PINT, SHUM, US
SUBJ: TRANSYLVANIA AND KIRALY: THE ROMANIAN SIEGE
MENTALITY CONTINUED
REFS: (A) BUCHAREST 2412; (B) BUCHAREST 1566; (C) BUCHAREST
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1. SUMMARY. IN APRIL 14 CONVERSATION WITH CHARGE, MFA
PLANNER AND FORMER WASHINGTON HAND MITRAM GAVE KADAR-ERA
EXAMPLE TO SUPPORT INSISTENCE THAT IRREDENTISM IS BOTTOM
LINE OF HUNGARIAN AGITATION OVER MAGYAR MINORITY IN TRANSYL-
VANIA, AND SAID SEXUAL SCANDAL WHICH LED TO KIRALY'S
EXPULSION FROM COVASNA IN 1972 HAD PERMITTED SOVIET IN-
TELLIGENCE TO PICK HIM UP. OTHER RECENT CONVERSATIONS
WITH KNOWLEDGEABLE ROMANIANS SUGGEST WE MAY BE FACING
FULL-COURT PRESS TO GET GOR VIEWPOINT ON TRANSYLVANIA
TO AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION, AS RESULT OF DECISION
CEAUSESCU ANNOUNCED TO HEARST INTERVIEWER WALLACH MARCH 28.
END SUMMARY.

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2. IN CHAT WITH MIRCEA MITRAN APRIL 14, CHARGE ASKED ABOUT
BASIS FOR GOR CONVICTION THAT AGITATION OVER MAGYAR
MINORITY IN TRANSYLVANIA IS IRREDENTIST IN ITS ESSENCE.
MITRAN WAS BOGDAN'S RIGHT-HAND MAN IN WASHINGTON DURING
EARLY 1970'S AND HAS HAD DIFFICULTIES SINCE HIS RETURN
IN 1975, BUT WENT TO MFA POLICY PLANNING STAFF IN
LATE 1977, WORKING MAINLY ON DISARMAMENT AND MIDDLE EAST,

AND APPEARS TO BE RIDING HIGH WITH ADVENT OF ANDREI, WHOM HE KNOWS WELL, AS FOREIGN MINISTER. (HE ASSURED CHARGE THAT ANDREI'S TRANSFER FROM SECRETARIAT TO MINISTRY MEANT PROMOTION FOR THE MINISTRY RATHER THAN DEMOTION FOR ANDREI--EVEN THOUGH MUSAT WILL BE HANDLING PARTY-TO-PARTY RELATIONS--SINCE ANDREI RETAINS CEAUSESCU'S FULL CONFIDENCE.) SINCE LEAVING U.S. AFFAIRS, MITRAN HAS BEEN HARD TO SEE.

3. MITRAN SAID WHEN HE FIRST CAME TO MINISTRY YEARS AGO, HE HAD DONE RESEARCH IN ARCHIVES ON TRANSYLVANIA, AND DOCUMENTED HUNGARIAN WORK IN BRITISH PUBLIC OPINION DURING 1923-1939 PERIOD CONCERNING INJUSTICE OF TRIANON SETTLEMENT, AND TRANSYLVANIA IN PARTICULAR. MAIN TARGET HAD BEEN ACADEMICS, AND PATIENT SPADEWORK IN AMERICAN ACADEMIC AND MEDIA COMMUNITIES SINCE EARLY 1970'S IS CARBON COPY OF EFFORT IN U.K. TWO GENERATIONS EARLIER.

4. WHEN HE HAD RETURNED IN 1975 FROM WASHINGTON, WHERE HE HAD BEEN CONCERNED WITH THIS KIND OF PROPAGANDA AMONG AMERICAN ACADEMICS, HE HAD GONE BACK TO ARCHIVES AND ADDED MORE DOCUMENTATION, INCLUDING FACT THAT EXAGGERATED RPT EXAGGERATED HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT CLAIMS IN 1938-1939 PERIOD HAD FOUND ONLY 400,000 MAGYARS IN ROMANIAN TRANSYLVANIA. WHAT HAD HAPPENED WAS THAT DURING HUNGARIAN OCCUPATION OF NORTHERN TRANSYLVANIA IN 1940-1944 HUNGARIANS HAD MOVED ROMANIANS OUT AND MAGYARS IN AND, DESPITE GENERAL CONFIDENTIAL

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PRACTICE OF RETURNING WARTIME SETTLERS TO COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN IN POSTWAR SETTLEMENT, THEY HAD NOT BEEN RETURNED TO HUNGARY. RESULT IS MUCH LARGER NUMBER THERE NOW THAN BEFORE WAR, AND MANY ARE BEDROCK IRREDENTISTS. HUNGARIANS GO SO FAR AS TO HAVE SOME "DEFECT" TO WEST IN ORDER TO CONDUCT OSTENSIBLY BONA FIDE PROPAGANDA ON MINORITY SITUATION THERE. HE HAD BROUGHT HIS DOCUMENTATION TO ATTENTION OF ANDREI, WHO IN TURN PASSED IT ON TO CEAUSESCU.

5. CHARGE OBJECTED THAT DESPITE HIS GENERAL SYMPATHY FOR ROMANIAN CASE, AND DESPITE LIKELIHOOD THAT THERE ARE MAGYAR IRREDENTISTS ON BOTH SIDES OF FRONTIER, IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO BELIEVE THAT TERRITORIAL ISSUE BULKS VERY LARGE FOR CURRENT HUNGARIAN PARTY AND GOVERNMENT. HE ALSO POINTED OUT THAT MIHNEA GHEORGHIU'S CLEAR CONFUSION OF TWO KIRALYS (REFS B AND C), COMING FROM FULL CC MEMBER, DOES NOT HELP ROMANIAN CASE.

6. MITRAN SAID IT WOULD BE ABSOLUTELY WRONG TO LIMIT IRREDENTISM TO PREWAR OR EVEN PRE-KADAR PERIOD. IN 1957, KADAR HAD COME TO (CEAUSESCU'S PREDECESSOR) GHEORGHIU-DEJ. HUNGARIAN REGIME WAS SUBJECT TO VICIOUS IMPERIALIST

PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN TO DISCREDIT IT, KADAR HAD SAID, AND MAIN THEME IS LACK OF SENSITIVITY TO NATIONAL INTERESTS AND ASPIRATIONS. WHAT BETTER WAY TO PUT LIE TO CAPAIGN, KADAR HAD PROPOSED, THAN TO RETURN TWO OR THREE TRANSYLVANIAN BORDER DISTRICTS HEAVILY POPULTED BY MAGYARS TO HUNGARY. GHEORGHU-DEJ HAD REPLIED (MITRAN WENT ON) THAT THERE IS ROMANIAN FOLK BELIFE IN SEVEN -HEADED DRAGON, AND THAT ROMANIA PEOPLE BELIEVE FURTHER THAT ONLY WAY TO KILL IT IS NOT TO FEED IT, BUT STICK A RED-HOT IRON DOWN EACH THROAT. THAT WAS IN 1957.

7. ON KIRALY, MITRAN DID NOT ATTEMPT TO DEFEND MIHNEA GHEORGHU, BUT SAID THAT IN ONE RESPECT HIS ACCOUNT WAS CORRECT: YOUNG KIRAELY HAD BEEN PICKED UP BY SOVIET IN-CONFIDENTIAL

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TELLIGENCE AFTER SEXUAL MISHAPS WHICH HAD RESULTED IN HIS EXPULSION FROM COVASNA FIRST SECRETARY JOB IN 1972, BECAUSE OF OPENING THESE HAD PROVIDED. WHEN CHARGE OBJECTED THAT KIRAELY WAS REPORTED TO BE REMARRIED,

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WITH YOUNG CHILD, MITRAN REPLIED THAT THIS RESULT WAS

SECONDARY.

8. MITRAN'S CLAIM THAT SENSITIVITY TO HUNGARIAN PROPAGANDA IN U.S. HAS REACHED HIGH LEVELS IN GOR APPEARS CONFIRMED BY CEAUSESCU'S MARCH 28 COMMENTS TO HEARST INTERVIEWER JOHN WALLACH (REPRINTED IN APRIL 9 SCINTEIA): "THERE ARE ENOUGH FACTS (ON POPULATION OF MAGYAR ORIGIN IN ROMANIA); THE REALITIES THEMSELVES ARE POWERFUL ENOUGH THAT WE CONSIDERED IT WOULD BE SUPERFLUOUS TO TALK MORE ABOUT THEM. FROM THIS POINT OF VIEW, TAKING U.S. REALITIES INTO ACCOUNT, WE WERE PROBABLY WRONG. WE ARE GOING TO HAVE TO DEVOTE MUCH MORE ATTENTION TO INFORMING PUBLIC OPINION IN THE U.S. AND OTHER STATES MORE BROADLY, SO AS TO LEAVE NO MIS-UNDERSTANDING AND NO ACTIVITIES OF CERTAIN ILL-INTENTIONED CIRCLES WHICH ONLY WISH TO DAMAGE RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES."

9. OTHER RECENT CONVERSATIONS WITH KNOWLEDGEABLE ROMANIANS

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ALSO TEND TO CONFIRM DECISION HAS BEEN TAKEN TO CHALLENGE ALLEGED HUNGARIAN PROPAGANDA IN U.S. AND WESTERN PUBLIC OPINION. DURING ACTING POL COUNSELOR'S APRIL 10 VISIT TO STEFAN GHEORGHIU ACADEMY'S INSTITUTE OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, ETHNIC MAGYAR DEPUTY DIRECTOR APPEARED UNEXPECTEDLY TO WELCOME EMBASSY REP, OFFER MATERIAL ON MINORITY SITUATION AND MONOPOLIZE CONVERSATION ON TOPIC. "WE" HAD ASSUMED OUR RECORD WOULD SPEAK FOR ITSELF, HE SAID, AND DID NOT NEED TO BE DEFENDED, BUT IT NOW APPEARS AN EFFORT WILL BE NEEDED TO MAKE ROMANIAN VIEWPOINT UNDERSTOOD. FURTHER, FRG TV BELGRADE CORRESPONDENT HANS ALBERT TOLD ACTING POL COUNSELOR APRIL 14 HE HAD JUST BEEN TAKEN ALL OVER TRANSYLVANIA BY UNCOMMONLY FORTH-COMING SCINTEIA STAFF, WHICH GAVE HIM EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO MEET UNOFFICIALLY AS WELL AS OFFICIALLY WITH HUNGARIANS IN CLUJ AND OTHER TRANSYLVANIAN CITIES.

10. ALBERT SAID HE HAD FOUND LATENT IRREDENTISM STRONG AND WIDESPREAD AMONG MAGYARS HE HAD MET, MAINLY BECAUSE THEY VIEW GREATER MATERIAL WELL-BEING AND FREEDOM OF THEIR BRETHREN IN HUNGARY WITH ENVY. AT SAME TIME, ALBERT FOUND, YEARNING DOES NOT TRANSLATE INTO ACTIVISM: MAGYARS HE ENCOUNTERED CONSIDER IRREDENTISM HAPLESS CAUSE, AND APPEAR RESIGNED TO MAKING BEST OF THEIR FUTURE IN ROMANIA.

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